

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, 131
the upper ranges.

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of 631
geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter
of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the
Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril,
and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they
returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the
moment the army was disbanded.

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a 619 ●
clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan 621
itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited [594]
by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages.

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by
the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*,
chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form 621
another, at a short distance away.

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in 622
the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally
another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased.

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is
confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in
a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the 623
chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from
sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the
management.

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*,
from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and
which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the
whole of America gave them the generic name of *cacique*.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapu*, also 619
called *vutranmapu*, united under a general or war chief called *lonco*. This post was 701
usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning
the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular
vote.

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary 627
to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their
quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called
together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and
imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to
hear the offender.

724

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. B. BULL. 143]

602 One point stands out: The relationship, accord-
 [604] ing to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the
 Ilopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former
 had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to
 help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institu-
 tionalized joking relationship among kin.

601

Kinship terminology.—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24-27; 1908, pp. 64-66; 1913, pp. 191-94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

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Political structure.—Our sources are so vague and often so conflict-
 ing as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded,
 and consistent picture.

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Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear. There
 was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all
 the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body.
 Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local
 "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consul-
 tative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no
 recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal
 service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects."
 The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the
 leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or
 "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (*werken*) chosen for de-
 pendability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp
 370-74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general
 uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly
 by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as
 a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or
 "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If
 the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest
 male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased
 left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consan-
 guineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or in-
 competent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than of authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* sociopolitical structure.

The largest geographical division among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the *vutanmapu* (? + country). Three such divisions were recognized in earlier times, constituting longitudinal strips along the Coast, the central valley, and the sub-Andine region, respectively, from the Bfo-Bfo River to the Toltén River; to which were later added a fourth embracing the *Huilliche* country south of the Toltén to lat. 42° S., and a fifth, the Andean Cordillera region. These great divisions functioned chiefly, it would seem, in times of war.

The next smaller division was the *aillarewe* (nine + *rewe*), of which there were, according to Latcham's tabulation (1922 b, pp. 839-46), 50 or 51 south of the Itata River, and exclusive of Chiloé. The *aillarewe* was made up of a number of smaller groups, usually nine but sometimes more or fewer, generally called *levo* in the earliest sources, and *rewe* (*regua*) in the later ones. The *levo* or *rewe* was in turn made up of a small number of *caví* (*cabí*), and each of these latter in turn, at least in the south, of several *machulla* (*müchulla*) or *pichicaví* (small + *caví*). The foregoing was the more common, but not invariable, division and terminology.

Data on the size of these respective subdivisions are very fragmentary. According to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 140), each *caví* in the Valdivia area had 400 "indios," with each component *machulla* consisting of "pocos indios." Latcham (1922 b, pp. 383-84) estimated the population of the *levo* (or *rewe*) to have been from about 1,800 to 4,000.

Our sources are fairly clear that each *machulla*, *caví*, and *levo* (*rewe*) had some sort of headman. (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 140; Olaveria, 1852, p. 22; Bascuñán, 1863, p. 187.) These headmen whose office was, as above noted, usually hereditary, functioned in normal times, in contrast to the leaders of the larger divisions, who earlier appear to have been mostly elected, and elected predominantly for the conduct of war. Such normal-time headmen and wartime leaders were variously known as *loko*, *toki*, *rewe*, *ül'men*—titles applied by our earlier sources with little consistency. In general, the title of *loko* (head) seems to have been given more to headmen of lower and smaller subdivisions, *toki* (*ax*) to headmen of *rewes* or of higher subdivisions. The title of *ül'men* means literally "noble, rich person" rather than headman; not all headmen were *ül'mens*, and vice versa.

Vertical relationships in the political hierarchy are not clearly defined

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619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b,
 631 p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño
 622 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to
 the head of the cavi which the machullas constituted. Given the
 general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political
 life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of
 smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed
 must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts
 (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older
 man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño
 de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined
 cūga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also
 as "la cabeza de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal."
 Rosales (1877-78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the
 "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las
 familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca
 mas de los de su linaje." How and where these headmen of farming
 communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the
 political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
 621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that
 the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities,
 constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively
 or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

622 In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and
 authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and
 the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat
 greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic
 forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organiza-
 tion, see infra under Warfare.)

674 Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adultery
 627 and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason.
 754 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times,
 headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or
 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were
 punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but,
 more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was
 resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas, 10 such strings for one
 death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt
 alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by
 Barbrá (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers,
 and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation
 of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf.,
 e. g., Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 40-59.)

PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF
ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written,
 175 and scattered information in historical literature now available
 does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and
 Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the
 Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull.
 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine
 Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival
 beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche*
 and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the
Mapuche and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and
 scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and
Pehuenche raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest,
 without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians*
 stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter"
 (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentin-
 e Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the
 valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of
 these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their
 619 varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant
 said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same
 big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived
 here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the
 Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here
 like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from
 ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another
 old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that
 the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the
 Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply
 of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when
 this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some re-
 mained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another
 informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchu-
 quina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [Gen-
 eral Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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people with him and fled to Chile. Later he moved his people back across the Cordillera and settled them in what today is called Trumpul. When one goes to a place where one is not born and accustoms himself to that place and likes it there, he is said to be *hünke*. We say that of ourselves here in Argentina today. But that is not because we were once in Chile and are now in Argentina; it is because we do not live where we were born. I see no value in anyone wanting to know where we came from!"

Domingo Huenun (70 years old), Chilean Araucanian of Panguipulli, had heard old people say when he himself was still young that there had always been Araucanians on both sides of the Andes; in fact, they had never thought of the Andes as separating them. "That came only after they drew the boundary line between Chile and Argentina," he added. These same old people spoke of the many passes over the Andes, along the shores of lakes and rivers, and said that they had always existed; that some of them were being used by Chileans today. These passes were traveled on foot or on horseback. Such passes used by Chileans today, he noted, were one from Panguipulli to Reihueco to Carango and into the Cordillera; one from Villarrica to Pucón to Trancura (over the Divide) to Lanín and Huechulafquén; another from Calafquén to Cofaripe to Pelaifa to Carriringue (over the Divide) to Paimun; another by way of Pilmaiquén, "which is in the south of Chile and is now a well-built public road to Argentina." Emederio Namkeful, an Argentine Araucanian, told of another pass between Villarrica and Argentina which led in Argentina from Malleo to Mallin Grande to Adraiko to Aukapán to Chinquilihuen, and then across the Divide into Chile.

Domingo Huenun also pointed out that some Araucanian names had always been known as Argentine Araucanian names and others as Chilean Araucanian. He looked at the Argentine list of informants (in 1952) and remarked that Cheokipan was such an Argentine name; and that Cayún, Namunkurá, Kolupan, Quinchawal, Lefin, and Namkeful were Chilean names.

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A historic event often referred to by Argentine Araucanian informants is the final conquest of the Araucanians by the Argentine army in the 1879 campaign of General Roca. It is spoken of as the great attack upon them or the great *malón*, a *malón* being defined as a surprise attack by either Whites or Indians in which men were massacred, women and children kidnaped, and animals stolen. The period following 1879 is spoken of as "when the military settled here," or "when the barracks were established here," or "after the soldiers took over."

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RITUAL CONGREGATIONALISM

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and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute Mapuche informant.

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The core of most responsible lineages at any funeral shifts, of course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained participation of the same reservation groups which constitute the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which their participation attests.

[794]

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation. It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations, regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural, ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen — those of his lineage and that of his wife — and coresidents participate. Being a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic, political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community. It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

- 619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society. *These are the files of*

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[181] When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

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177 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, be-
mean losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from
white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as be-
longing to a congeries of small reservation communities which group
into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society.
The things which make them distinctive today have made them so
at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to
be felt after 1884.²

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with
a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to
have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But
in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern
times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social
structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of
warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and
pacification brought additional structural modifications when the
Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once
were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change,
but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except
where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through
sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of
any single community segment does not imply structural change in
Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of
reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by
the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

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Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjust-
ments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean govern-
ment, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different
authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders
have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has
acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the
ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as
formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased
in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are func-
tionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the
past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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²It might be argued that 1884 would be a better base line, the year when the
first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche
staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and
marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

The Structure of Symbolic Values

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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilineal rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is proscribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilineal preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as *Picunche* (*picun*: north), to the south, *Huilliche* (*huillic*: south), to the east, *Puenteche*, and to the west, along the coast, *Lafkenche* (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographic-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the preservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

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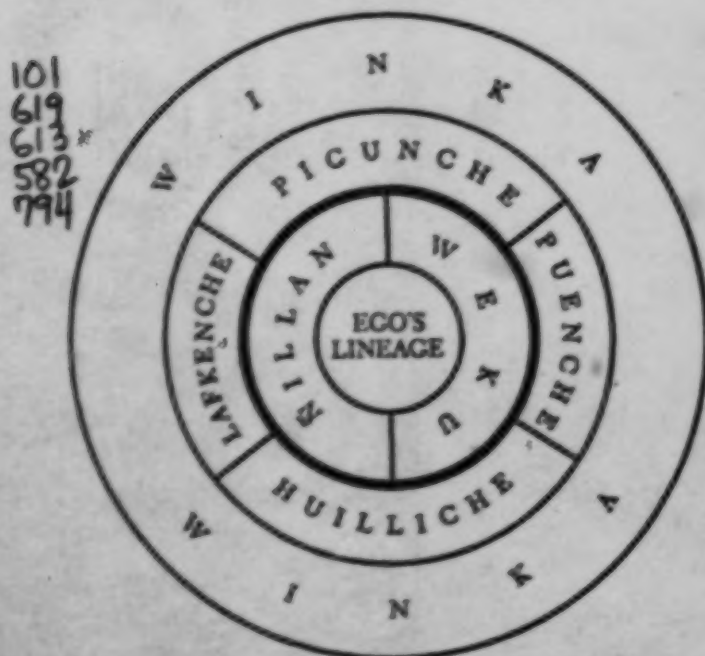
12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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HAWKS OF THE SUN

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undiffer-
619 entiated totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
794 are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
582 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories
in Mapucheland



794 wife-receivers (*willan*), and one's wife-givers (*wuka*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualisation of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

101 For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
103 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional
name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

The jealousy existing between Foyel and Checoque, which⁵⁷⁸ had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief and Quintuhual to the south, and all the Araucanos of their following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible aloof, and abstained from sharing in the jovialities, while the Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintuhual marched off their followers in regular array, and proceeded homewards followed by many of the Tehuelches, the great races which it had been settled to hold being abandoned in consequence of the uneasy state of feeling and the consequent fears of a quarrel: the fight in that case would have been an obstinate one, as Checoque's forces would not have been much too strong for their opponents, although outnumbering them. We had been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to receive us, as we only counted ninety lances, but it transpired that some were concealed in the woods by the side of the river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred men had gone to Patagones to obtain their chief's ration of cattle, but 200 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had turned back on hearing of the attack made by Checoque's party on their friends, my cousins. Whether they remained away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their kinsmen did not appear, but Foyel had frequently boasted that 200 of Checoque's followers would espouse his quarrel. The Picunches were the original cause of the feud. This⁶¹⁹ tribe, asserted by Antonio Guaitu, who gave them the name⁵⁷⁹ of Chollo, to be a branch of the Araucanians, are under Checoque's dominion, though governed by local caciques. As already mentioned, they live near the passes of the Cordillera and plunder all travellers. They had not respected Foyel's messenger bringing him stores from Valdivia, and at last forcibly annexed two sheepskins of rum, on which

- 619 occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
 [579] Cheoeque a defiant message to the effect that if any more
 robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals;
 that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
 619 forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
 578 sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by
 right under the rule of Cheoeque, preferred to throw off his
 allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
 [648] alleged by him was that although Cheoeque received large
 rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he
 never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
 [486] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the
 Picunches and their subjection to Cheoeque, the Valdivians
 had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct,
 which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far
 as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested,
 although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather,
 as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which
 during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
- 133 Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would
 have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous
 windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their
 animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio
 Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians
 stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
 439 route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
 579 viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he
 was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and
 drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return
 journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near
 the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
 000 way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing
 to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the
 route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro
 and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it
 was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and